THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Child Buyer

John Hersey's Angry New Novel

Investment and Consumption

Leon H. Keyserling

The Attack on Hammarskjold

Mario Rossi

Castro and Communists

Daniel Friedenberg

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Black or White

★ It is queer that Secretary Herter should have made that slip about Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana. He suddenly called him "very definitely in the Communist camp"; then tried to dilute it to "very definitely leaning toward the Soviet bloc." President Nkrumah later joined the four other neutrals in urging an Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting.

Nkrumah was difficult so we tagged him "Red." This Administration sees things in simple terms. They are black or white. Eisenhower (who becomes this week the oldest President in history) has an uncomplicated approach, things are M or Not-M, Moral or Not-Moral. On his blacklist are Khrushchev, Castro, Harry Truman and now maybe Nkrumah. Politicians – yes, even businessmen – see intermediate grays, but Eisenhower is an Army man. His grim absolutes are evident every time he mentions "atheistic Communists."

Khrushchev, of course, is different. He lacks the advantage of being a West Pointer or a professing Christian. After yelling rude floor interruptions at Macmillan's UN speech he had no difficulty in acting as the latter's polite and effusive host at dinner. Eisenhower would have spurned that. Some people think a little more flexibility on our part would help. Such a policy might have controlled the egregious Castro. It might have made a meeting with Nikita Khrushchev a little easier – foredoomed though such a pre-election conference was.

Khrushchev has blackguarded Eisenhower over the U-2 and has two surviving members of the downed RB-47 reconnaissance plane captive. How could we negotiate? Yet neutralist doubts still remain. Actually our position is quite strong. We do have Spain's Franco round our neck, it is true, but our hypocrisy does not compare with that of Moscow's – we have not grabbed satellites.

Yet once more, somehow or other, we are on the defensive. Once more we are re-acting instead of acting. The initiative comes from others. We are committed to absolutes – as in the case of Red China. Things are black and white. In many ways the hope of the neutrals for a tête-à tête seems ridiculous; yet how can the world hunger for peace be expressed more sensibly?

Nixon's Pursed Mouth

★ Many Nixon strategists advised against the "debates" with Kennedy; Nixon was nationally known, Kennedy not; why help Kennedy establish an identity? With this thought Nixon forces tried to head off the affair by imposing difficult conditions; Kennedy told his people, "Accept *any* conditions!" The confrontation ultimately occurred because Nixon underestimated Kennedy, just as Truman did, and Lyndon Johnson and the Southern Baptist divines in Texas.

Word went to the Nixon make-up artists in Chicago for the first meeting, "Give our man lighting that will bring out the strong, mature lines in his face; we want to contrast him to boyish Kennedy." Everybody knows the result. Nixon wore make-up; Kennedy didn't. Nixon had extra lamps beating on him. Nixon looked like one of those photographs found on a Post Office bulletin board.

It is unfair, of course, but many who watched those supremely solitary young men – alone with 73 million people – will remember that unattended trickle forming on Nixon's dark chin and his pursed mouth as he moistened lips. This is unfair because it is a bad basis on which to judge a Presidential candidate: what chance would an ugly Lincoln have, say, in such a test? But Lincoln we guess, would not have been put on the defensive as Nixon was.

Nixon has a big handicap: almost anything positive he says alienates one-third of his backers, the Goldwater wing, the Eisenhower wing or the Rockefeller wing. Their views are far apart. Kennedy, by contrast, cut his losses pretty much from the start by taking an all-out, left-of-center stand.

TV Was a Liar

★ Up to the eve of the second encounter here in Washington, Kennedy strategists were trying to control a wild surmise that maybe a "trend" had set in, a trend in their favor. Weathercock Lausche immediately veered to Kennedy after the first meeting; so, significantly, did the Southern Governors.

We think this is all a little premature. We joined the Nixon motorcade for a few days last week and like everybody else found our first interest in seeing whether the candidate really looked as cadaverous as TV had made him appear. He didn't; TV was a liar. He looked fresh and bouncy, already stepping up his personal attack and substituting for the "immaturity" argument (which has been knocked right out of the campaign) new innuendoes about "Jack's" wealth. (The use of the word "Jack," incidentally, is a debater's device: it is called denigration by overfamiliarity. Personally we don't like it.)

Waiting for the motorcade to start the night after the Chicago affair we tuned our pocket radio in for the news, and got that eminent conservative commentator, Fulton Lewis, Jr. What arrested us was that he was attacking Nixon. Yes, sure enough! "Nixon was being too 'gentlemanly' in handling Kennedy; he wasn't hitting hard enough; he was repeating Dewey's 1948 mistake." We listened happily. Suddenly we knew past all peradventure, which man had won.

Up to Their Necks

★ Everywhere Nixon went he called for turning expensive problems, like better schools, "back to the states." But state and local governments are up to their necks in IOU's just because of the policy Nixon advocates. Department of Commerce figures show federal debt at $252.7 billion in 1945; state and local debt at $13.7 billion. In 1959 federal debt was down to $243 billion but state and local debt had enormously increased, it had quadrupled – to $55.6 billion! Advocating new state-local burdens is really advocating no social advance at all. They can't raise the money from near bankrupt tax sources.

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Some Old Refrains

Last week, the mailman delivered a self-styled "important notice." "World Brotherhood, Inc. has officially changed its operating title to: Council on World Tensions, Inc." That's the way the cookie's crumbling, coexistence-wise, and quite a number of voters know it. Mr. Nixon probably senses it too, but if he were to admit it, what would happen to his standing as the man who has helped make the decisions, whose experience is responsible for what we are experiencing? And if he doesn't admit the country's in trouble, will the voters believe him? Might they not instead believe what they hear at the United Nations, what they've been told by countless studies of US deficiencies, and what they can gather every day even from the relatively uncritical and uncomprehensive press and TV?

Perhaps we shall learn more about the way Mr. Nixon intends to handle this problem when the two candidates next meet on television, but so far the Vice President is dealing with his dilemma by whistling some old refrains. As in past campaigns, he is hitting or hugging not the man against him in the ring, but someone who only came to watch the fight. In 1956 he campaigned primarily against non-candidates Harry Truman and Walter Reuther (he called the latter the "man to beat"). Today he is campaigning on behalf of non-candidate Eisenhower. His present partiality for experience in the White House is reminiscent of his 1956 remark that, "This is not the moment to replace the greatest commander-in-chief America has ever had in war or peace with a jittery, inexperienced novice . . ." The positive-thinking theme is likewise a tested specialty: "It is not necessary to tear America down in order to build her up"; Senator Kennedy has "made himself a spokesman for . . . national disparagement"; the Democratic candidate "owes it to his party and to his country to cease the irresponsible attacks on the President." Four years ago, the Vice President similarly dismissed criticism of the Administration as "morbidity"; he termed Mr. Stevenson's proposal for a moratorium on H-bomb tests "completely irresponsible"; he advised us that "the entire problem of Communism, foreign and domestic, is too important for partisan criticism or political sniping," and said that he could not "agree with those who seemed to relish proclaiming that American prestige is at an all-time low." And in 1958 he added that Democrats who question the adequacy of our national defenses were guilty of "rotgut thinking . . . and claptrap" and that "those who keep hammering at the gap are playing politics with national defense." Moreover,

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there's a hauntingly familiar ring to Mr. Nixon's patriotic 1960 affirmation that "it's time to quit blaming ourself for what the Communists are responsible for abroad"; and that "if you think the US has stood still, who built the largest shopping center in the world?"; and that "militarily, economically and diplomatically we maintain and have a position of strength unparallelled in the history of this country"; and that "no criticism should be allowed to obscure the truth either at home or abroad, that today America is the strongest nation militarily, economically and ideologically in the world . . ." In 1958, too, he advised Republican Congressional candidates to be boosters, not knockers, that "in a nutshell, with 1959 promising to be the best year in our history if we continue the sound policies of the Eisenhower Administration, why take a chance with a change?" "Any way you look at it," he told a California audience, "the Eisenhower years are the six best years in the history of the USA."

If these bromides don't kill the pain, there's always the old line of keeping the peace by standing up to and sitting down with Khrushchev simultaneously. Four years ago, Mr. Nixon said that "in the final analysis . . . the difference between the Truman-Acheson policy and the Eisenhower-Dulles policy [is that] the Truman-Acheson policy got us into war; the Eisenhower-Dulles policy got us out." In 1958, according to

"Come On, Come On – Hurry It Up"

the Vice President, the "sorry record of retreat and appeasement" during the seven years of former President Truman's Administration not only "did not even win peace" but also brought war and "over 100,000 casualties" in Korea. The other night, he reminded his audience that the Republicans had "stopped one war. We have kept America from having other wars."

Finally, there isn't much difference between recent and ancient insinuations that his opponent might be just a little soft or naïve when it comes to Communism. His swipe at Senator Kennedy on September 12 (he hoped "the time [would] never come when any President of the United States feels it is necessary to apologize for trying to defend the United States") differs only slightly from the hope he expressed in 1958, that we would not "return to the Acheson policy of weakness and appeasement which contributed to the loss of China and led to the Korean War." In 1954, it read this way: "Isn't it wonderful that finally we have a Secretary of State who isn't taken in by the Communists. . . .?" And the 1952 version was: "I charge that the buried record will show that Mr. Truman and his associates, either through stupidity or political expedience, were primarily responsible for the unimpeded growth of the Communist conspiracy within the United States; and that Mr. Stevenson has lined up consistently with those who minimize and cover up the Communist threat."

"Same old slipper, same old rice, same old glimpse of Paradise." The only thing new about Nixon is that he is his party's candidate for President.

Rhode Island Savvy

The victory of a political newcomer – Claiborne Pell – in the Rhode Island Democratic Senatorial primary was a remarkable demonstration by the voters of selective skill in the use of political machinery – as opposed, distinctly opposed, to the use of a political *machine*. Forty-one-year-old Mr. Pell, a wealthy resident of Newport and Washington with considerable experience of international affairs and a broad streak of *noblesse oblige*, was contesting against Dennis J. Roberts, former Governor, former Mayor of Providence; and Truman-supported J. Howard McGrath, former Governor, former Senator, and former US Solicitor General and Attorney General. The Rhode Island primary law was framed by the collaboration of the leaders of both parties to give maximum advantage to organization candidates and maximum trouble to buttinskies. Mr. Roberts had the organization's endorsement. Mr. McGrath presumably thought he had some organization of his own. The round-number results: Pell – 83,000; Roberts – 45,000; McGrath – 7,500. Meanwhile, the Democratic organization's candidate for the Governor-

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ship defeated his unendorsed rival, 74,000 to 57,500.

This meant two things. It meant that the voters, who had to flick every lever opposite every name they wanted, knew what to do and exercised great care in doing it, rejecting Mr. Roberts though selecting, as candidate for Governor, his organization running mate. Second, it meant that the voters, recognizing that the primary was weighted for the organization, sensed that the way to beat *that* game was to outnumber the organization. The vote totals were unprecedented in the short history of the Rhode Island primary.

Speaking to the Farmer

Much as a Presidential candidate may want to fudge, his advisers will insist that he make definite commitments to convince farmers he deserves their votes. Therefore, few were surprised when Mr. Nixon dropped Ezra Taft Benson so abruptly – as a first order of business, so to speak, after the Republican convention last July. He had to use the fallen image of the Secretary of Agriculture as a podium from which to announce convincingly that he was going to offer this unsentimental branch of the electorate a different GOP farm program.

We now have it. On the day following Senator Kennedy's appearance at the National Plowing Contest, Mr. Nixon delivered the second half of his two-part prescription for agriculture. He began with a reminder that his previous speech on the farm problem contained a novelty, "a new program of converting [surplus] grain to protein food . . . for sale overseas and for distribution to the needy at home and abroad."

Then he unwrapped the real surprise: it was the old Benson farm program complete and unmodified except for one point. Under the Nixon regime the application of it would be postponed until the farm economy was brought back to a state of health by a series of temporary measures. Thereupon, we would return to Bensonism without Benson: "Once we deal with the surpluses, once markets achieve a new buoyancy reflecting a better relationship of supply to demand, we should move to a long-term price support system with [support] levels based on an average of [market] prices over the immediately preceding crop years."

Vice President Nixon is as determined as the present Secretary of Agriculture to liberate farmers from the price-propping shackles of the federal government, but he will prepare the farmer for this operation more carefully. He will supply him with allocations of cash money and payments in kind through a transitional period. When these remedies have taken effect and the mountainous surpluses ($10 billion by next January) are reduced to manageable dimensions, he will move the farmers "toward freedom," *i.e.*, toward the free market.

Senator Kennedy has taken an entirely different tack by proposing to tame the market so that farmers can live with it. He is not so much concerned with the specific price of farm commodities as with the protection of farm income. Implicit in his approach is an awareness that farmers are unable to control their output, as manufacturers do, in order to maintain a market structure that will give them fair returns, in part because of the nature of agriculture itself; it is a type of biological production that proceeds in a practically irreversible cycle once the farmer has plowed the land and put seed into it.

The Kennedy approach recognizes that no farmer is large enough to control the market; indeed, none of them has the means to research it, and must depend on advice from public agencies. Most farmers, consequently, produce as much as they can and they hope to make up in quantity what they lose in price if the market falls. But it rarely works out that way – income from farming has dropped 25 percent during the present Administration while incomes for the rest of the population have risen. Senator Kennedy proposes to give farmers government assistance in controlling the amount of their output to quantities that the market would absorb at fair prices. He has said this would be done through a system of marketing quotas, agreements and orders, through government purchases and crop loans – all with one end in view – maintenance of parity or *equivalent* income for farm, as for city people.

A Political Syllogism

Nixon: *I can handle Khrushchev.*
Television Verdict: *Kennedy can handle Nixon.*
Conclusion: *Kennedy can handle Khrushchev.*

Irving Brandt

Strike at GE

The General Electric strike came upon us last week with much less fanfare than last year's steel strike, although it is no less important. The walkout, involving some 70,000 employees represented by the AFL-CIO's International Union of Electrical Workers, is the latest in a series of major walkouts over the past two years that finds the unions on the defensive. Unemployment and automation have eroded their position in the factory to a greater extent than the public realizes.

A characteristic of recent bargaining has been the absence of any handy yard-stick for measuring the gains and losses sustained by the contending parties. Wages, the simplest of measurements, is of least importance. (GE employees average $2.30 and $2.40 an

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hour.) The dispute is over job assignments, job security, work loads and practices.

There appears to be little difference between the GE offer of a 3 percent wage increase now, 4 percent more on April 2, 1962, and the union's demand for a 3.5 percent hike this year and next. The difference seems bargainable. Also, the union and the company have each advanced proposals to enhance job security for GE workers by setting up a fund for each worker in the event he is laid off, computed on the base of one week's wage for each year of service.

Because of IUE's shaky position, union president James B. Carey, spent the last few days before the strike began at midnight, October 1, seeking a way out. IUE offered to arbitrate; the company refused. The union sought a contract extension; GE said no. "We do not want a strike," says a company press release, "but we feel that it would be better to invest in a strike, with all the hardships it would bring to all of us, than to endanger the jobs of all General Electric employees in the long run by surrendering to excessive union demands." Confident that it holds a winning hand ("I can't see why Carey wants to strike now; business is lousy," said one GE spokesman) – GE announced that it would keep its plant gates open."

Management is not out to break the unions; they are much too useful for disciplining wild-cat strikes and the like. But management's insistence on the "right to manage" does mean that it is determined to cut costs and does not want the unions to have any say in the uses of automation. This is the meaning of GE's stand.

Ladies in the Club

Even should Margaret Chase Smith lose in November, the ratio of women to men in the US Senate is almost sure to shift from 1 to 99 to 2 to 99, which is a surprisingly lop-sided ratio considering that eligible women voters outnumber voters of the opposite sex in the US by approximately 3 million. Mrs. Smith's opponent is Maine Democratic state legislator Lucia Cormier. And in Oregon, Maurine Neuberger is campaigning for the seat of her late husband against former Governor Elmo Smith and is rated an easy winner.

The Maine race between the ladies is fast becoming one of the hardest fought in the country. Busy among her constituents during the summer Congressional recess, Senator Smith did not bother to go to the Republican Convention in Chicago, which was just as well, for the convention planners kept her off the program, and her colleague, Barry Goldwater, who does not trouble to hide his dislike for Mrs. Smith's independent streak, managed most ungallantly either to ignore or to forget her when he called the roll of November's Republican Senatorial nominees; he had to be reminded from the rostrum. Mrs. Smith's highly effective challenger, now serving her sixth term from Rumford in the House at Augusta, where she serves as Minority Leader, is a former school teacher and has been an influential member of the House Education Committee. With her French-Canadian background Miss Cormier has a campaign advantage among Maine's many French-speaking voters. She was Democratic National Committeewoman from Maine for eight years and backed as she is by the revitalized Maine Democratic organization, led by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie and gubernatorial candidate Frank Coffin, she is pushing Mrs. Smith hard.

Supreme Court – New Term

The working year of the Supreme Court of the United States does not correspond to the calendar year. It runs more nearly with the academic and the fiscal – which is not altogether unseemly in an institution that follows the ways of the student in pursuing the ends of government. The Court's year, the October Term, 1960, as it will be called, has just had its formal beginning and will last into June, 1961. Like successive federal elections, each new term of the Court seems to observers to be the most momentous. Yet there is no doubt that for the term now opening, the Court has taken on for decision an arresting collection of grave issues.

When all the blather about religion has died down about the qualifications of men named Kennedy – for the office of President as well as for that of Police Commissioner of New York – the Supreme Court will deal with matters of real substance concerning the place of religion in our secular society. The Court will decide at this term whether Connecticut's absolute ban on the use of contraceptive devices may continue to be enforced. It will pass also on the validity of various Sunday blue laws in force in several states, including a Massachusetts statute, for example, which prevents the operation by Orthodox Jews of a Kosher supermarket on Sundays.

There will be widespread interest in an aspect – if a marginal and relatively uncomplicated one – of the sit-in movement, which is presented by Virginia's conviction of a Negro for refusing to leave a bus-station restaurant where he was denied service. A more significant case involving Negro rights comes from Alabama, whose legislature carefully gerrymandered Negro residential areas out of the redrawn city limits of Tuskegee, so as to form a more perfect segregated municipal government, without the interference of colored voters.

The Court will pass, after many delays, on the scope and constitutionality of the so-called membership clause of the Smith Act, a provision quite different from those portions of the statute under which Com-

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munist Party leaders, not mere members, have been convicted in the past. And at last, in one fashion or another, there will be a day of reckoning for the grotesque proceedings of the Subversive Activities Control Board, which has for years been stumbling over the stories of various professional witnesses, their cantations and recantations, in the effort to prove that the Communist Party, USA, is a "Communist-action organization."

There will be at least seven important labor cases, including one from Georgia that raises the troubling question of the effect on individual political rights of a union-shop contract requiring all employees to join a union which uses part of the dues it collects for political purposes. Finally – though the enumeration is not complete – the Court will decide the not inconsequential issue of whether Dupont must get rid of its large block of General Motors stock. Moving in a forest of private and public giants, the nine men of this unique and tiny institution face a busy season.

Hard Knox

Corridor conversation last week at the annual meeting of the World Bank and Monetary Fund in Washington, D. C., canvassed a question which was on everyone's mind, but not on the agenda: how great is the US balance-of-payments problem, and how will it be affected by what happens to the economy in the future?

The power of positive thinking was reflected in Secretary Anderson's assurance that, "The outlook for economic activity in this country is favorable both in the near future and for many years ahead." Per Jacobssen, in his economic review on behalf of the Fund, most uncharacteristically joined a possibly record-breaking number of economists who are fence-sitting with regard to how our economy is likely to develop.

The head-shakers in the halls emphasized that the strength of the dollar abroad reflects the strength of the dollar at home. They are well aware that the massive US gold reserve – not all of it buried at Ft. Knox – continues: two weeks ago the outflow amounted to $181 million in a single week, and for the first time in some 20 years the US gold reserve now stands below $19 billion. This $19 billion still provides the dollar with vastly more solid backing than is available to any other currency. US short-term liabilities to foreign governments and central banks – subject at any time to conversion into gold – total $9.6 billion; these plus similar liabilities to private foreign accounts and to foreign holders of US Government bonds and notes stand at $18.6 billion; with the addition of the dollar holdings of international institutions like the World Bank and Fund, the grand total of holdings and liabilities is $22.7 billion.

Yet other countries are timorous lest they sustain losses by keeping their funds in dollars rather than in gold; and the recent lowering of US interest rates compared with those of Germany and the UK provides a positive incentive for a switch to investments from the US to those countries. At the same time, foreigners are quite sure that the weakening of the dollar will have bad consequences for them.

These considerations appear pretty remote from the current political debate. Yet they have implications which go right to the center of the campaign. Politically, the desirability of a high rate of economic growth is as untouchable as motherhood: in their first TV discussion, Mr. Kennedy taunted Mr. Nixon with the recent economic slowdown, and Mr. Nixon countered that Mr. Kennedy was building his figures on the wrong base year. What neither said was that US growth, which all accept as desirable, has been accompanied by rising cost-price levels, and while these have been accepted in the domestic market, in the world market they have weakened the US trading position – steel is an example.

The German economy, on the contrary, has burgeoned on a competitive basis, and the UK, after both a devaluation and a painful period of recurrent biennial crises, has likewise reestablished itself on world exchanges. Both have been able to sell their goods at prices attractive to the world market.

High US interest rates of recent years have been sharply attacked. Why these high rates have disturbed people is implied in Secretary Anderson's statement that "after almost 20 years of recurrent inflationary pressures, it is understandable that a free economy would have to undergo some deep-seated adjustments once appropriate monetary policies had struck down both the fear and the fact of inflation."

If these "deep-seated adjustments" continue to be painful – as in the steel industry – the use of monetary policy in the form of easier credit to help the American economy pull out of its recession will be inhibited by the almost certain effect of such a shift on the willingness of foreign countries to hold their resources in the form of dollars. This is the prospect about which the bankers confer in the corridors.

No News Is News

Lest the readers of John S. Knight's *The Miami Herald* (Fla.) forget that religion is not, or is, an issue, that newspaper on the day following the first joint TV appearance by the candidates, carried a banner headline on its front page – "Now a Real Debate: Who Won?" And the third sentence of the two-column story which followed gratuitously noted, in bold type: "At no time in the hour-long program did the issue of Roman Catholic religion enter into the discussions."

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Who's a Conservative?

The power of saying to make something so is nicely exemplified by the widespread acceptance of the Chairman of the Republican National Senatorial Campaign Committee, Sen. Barry Goldwater, as a "conservative." Yet, unless the dictionary is obsolete, a political conservative "favors the conservation of existing institutions and forms of government," while a radical is one who "advocates radical and sweeping changes in laws and methods of government with the least possible delay." And Senator Goldwater is unique among the political leaders of our time in demanding radical and sweeping changes in the laws and methods of our government. He would strip it almost wholly of the form and powers it has assumed in the last half-century, in an evolution pioneered, incidentally, by the only first-class Republican President of this century, Theodore Roosevelt; and he would convert it instead to something with little more authority than that conferred on the federal government by the Articles of Confederation.

The *Economist* of London finds Mr. Goldwater's reputation as a "conservative" amazing. It summarizes what it terms his "starkly radical" program as calling, among other things, for "the immediate abolition of subsidies to farmers; the retirement of federal government from all social welfare activities in favor of private charity (and 'if necessary', of local authorities), and a declaration that even though Negro children in the South have the moral right to go to the same schools as white children, the federal government can and should do nothing to help them obtain this right."

This may be fantasy, foolishness, nostalgia or many other things, but it is not conservatism.

Latin-Style Neutralism

Two-thirds of a substantial sampling of university students in Santiago feel that the United States has too much influence in Chile; 66 percent want Chile to avoid alignment with either the US or the USSR; almost all believe that the propaganda directed to Chile by both of the contending blocs is not to be trusted. These are among the findings of a recent study made available to this journal by Latin American specialist Elliot Marcus of 350 students at the University of Chile and nearby Catholic University.

Mr. Marcus, an ex-staff member of the US Information Agency who conducted research in late 1959 and early 1960 on an OAS fellowship, found that 68 percent of those asked to select the principal reason for the 1958 anti-Nixon demonstrations, cited US "neglect" of Latin American economic development. But the desire for US aid ran parallel to an aversion to alignment in the Cold War. In contrast to the 66 percent who wanted Chile to stay out of the big power conflict, only 28 percent favored joining an anti-Communist grouping led by Washington (only two percent favored alignment with the USSR). The belief that the US has too much influence in Chile was shown up in the students' attitude toward US investments in copper and nitrate mines. Forty-four percent considered the USSR the front runner in the Cold War (two percent thought the US was winning). More than 80 percent favored the renewal of Chilean diplomatic and commercial relations with the Communist powers. As Mr. Marcus points out, this was an increase over an earlier figure of 58 percent in a 1957 study made by a University of Chile research group.

Jenkinson's Law

It is a privilege to announce in these pages, for the first time anywhere, the successful outcome of a research project that is bound to revolutionize the understanding of human affairs. The object of the project, essentially the work of one man gifted with genius, was to formulate a single Unified Field Theory in terms of which all the actions of human society could be explained. Hitherto there have been separate theories to explain politics, games, juvenile delinquency, sex, war, and other specialized aspects of human behavior. Now at last, for the first time, all the manifestations of human behavior can be explained by a single theory.

While the author of the theory prefers to remain anonymous, he has suggested that it be called "Emmanuel P. Jenkinson, Jr.'s Law." We prefer to call it simply "Jenkinson's Law."

We give it in its author's own formulation, *viz:* "Everybody's crazy."

From time to time, examples of Jenkinson's Law will be given in these columns; contributions from readers are invited. To begin with, we offer an example culled from the *Atlantic Naturalist*, a periodical publication of the Audubon Naturalist Society.

For the past few years conservationists have been puzzled and deeply concerned by a catastrophic decline in the country's population of American Bald Eagles (*Haleaëtus leucocephalus*). For unknown reasons, our national bird has virtually stopped reproducing itself. Unless the cause and cure of this condition are found soon, the present generation of Bald Eagles may be the last that we know.

This situation has prompted the Florida Audubon Society to sponsor an "American Bald Eagle Club" to investigate and act. This is a serious undertaking by determined men. Only by Jenkinson's Law, however, is it possible to explain the terms of membership in the American Bald Eagle Club. Life membership is available for one dollar to those with "balding pates and silvery locks." All others pay two dollars annually.

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Can Hammarskjold Hold On?

United Nations

The Soviet attack against Mr. Hammarskjold and the demand for a reform of his office throw an interesting light on Khrushchev's attitude toward the world organization. The proposal to replace the Secretary General by a triumvirate of a Westerner, an Eastern European and a neutral, each with a veto power, is too absurd to have been meant seriously. To do what the Russians want would require a revision of the UN Charter. And "amendments to the present Charter," reads Article 108, "shall come into force for all members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the Members of the General Assembly and ratified . . . by two-thirds of the members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council." In other words, Khrushchev's proposal would require the preliminary consent not only of the Soviet Union but also of the United States, Great Britain, France and Nationalist China, and it is unthinkable that these four non-Communist permanent members of the Security Council would agree.

In the circumstances it is safe to assume that Khrushchev is aiming at a thorough reorganization of the UN Secretariat and the assignment of an agreed number of Eastern Europeans to executive functions. The reorganization he seems to have in mind is not only a reorganization of UN structure but of underlying principles and aims, and only in this context can the campaign against Mr. Hammarskjold be understood.

First of all, the Soviets have little use for a Secretary General who would rather see his office "break on strict adherence to the principle of independence, impartiality and objectivity than drift on the basis of compromise." A man who "drifts" on the basis of compromise is much more to their taste. This preference and the shift in the balance of power in the General Assembly brought about by the admission of numerous African countries has apparently convinced the Soviet the time has come to replace a "neutralist" whose intellectual outlook is deeply Western with a "neutralist" in the Asian tradition, who would be readier to come to terms without fussing too much about "principles."

Mr. Hammarskjold sees the United Nations as a positive force with a mission of its own. In the introduction to his annual report of the General Assembly he outlines the purpose and scope of a "preventive diplomacy" through which he had hoped to reduce the areas of conflict between the two opposing power blocs. In the Middle East, in Southeast Asia, in Africa, Mr. Hammarskjold had tried to interpose a United Nations presence, which means, in effect, keeping out or diminishing the presence of the big powers.

The Soviets could not accept this concept of a world order, for it does not square with their understanding of "coexistence." In the present international situation, coexistence – as viewed by the Soviets – implies extending an ideological influence to the ideologically uncommitted countries, and the United Nations can be useful only to the extent that it facilitates this mission. The United Nations must be an instrument of competition and not an independent force meant to reduce the area of competition. As an independent force, with a life and a purpose of its own, it would come to represent an ideal alien to Soviet principles: a "Western" ideal. Because he embodies this ideal, the Soviets want him out. No one but Eastern Europeans has taken their accusations seriously. Several neutralist delegates have criticized the UN operation in the Congo, but they have also refrained from the slightest direct attack on the Secretary General personally. At the conclusion of an emergency session of the General Assembly convened to debate the problem of the Congo, Mr. Hammarskjold received an overwhelming vote of confidence. The uncommitted nations appear to like him and to appreciate his interest in Asian and African problems.

This support does not detract, however, from the fact that the Soviets have it in their power to paralyze the organization if they stick to the position that Mr. Hammarskjold is no longer acceptable. The precedent of Trygve Lie, the first UN Secretary General whom they forced to resign, appears conclusive. The United Nations might conceivably drift along despite the Soviet attitude; but it no longer would be the same organization, with the same sense of purpose and record of accomplishment. It would inevitably become Western dominated; the neutrals would feel less and less "at home" and would clamor for a change. The UN means a tremendous lot to the small countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, because nowhere else do their voices command so much attention and influence. The Western nations might have been sincere in their prompt efforts to come to Mr. Hammarskjold's rescue, but in so doing they have compromised his position still further. High UN officials have been begging Westerners to restrain their enthusiasm for Mr. Hammarskjold, which only tended to compromise his position of strict impartiality.

MARIO ROSSI

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WEST GERMANS ON THE US ELECTIONS

A Matter of Personalities

Bonn

The American Presidential election has already cast its shadow – if that is the right simile – over Western Europe. Dr. Adenauer has made no secret of his belief that Khrushchev's Cold War tactics will mean continuing pressure in Germany and, more particularly, in Berlin, and that Soviet pressure in Central Europe will become stronger in the early autumn. It is therefore understandable that he, and other West Germans, are worried by the prospect of a hiatus in American leadership, when first an American President is on the way out and then a youthful successor is contriving to find his feet in office.

The youthfulness of both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Nixon does not worry most West Germans. The era of the "father-figure," a Hamburg newspaper wrote recently, is ending. Germans, in spite of their real admiration of Mr. Eisenhower, realize that American policies in Europe have been marking time for months past. Neither Kennedy nor Nixon will be expected to break the deadlock in Europe; but they will be expected to show drive, inventiveness and initiative.

Whereas the Social Democratic press would like to see Senator Kennedy elected President, and the Christian Democratic newspapers favor Nixon, there is a slight bias in favor of Nixon among independent, non-party commentators. "If Mr. Nixon becomes President," wrote the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, "the Atlantic Community will presumably become a stronger basis of American policy than before. . . . Nobody is likely to deny that Nixon has matured – and that on his trips to Latin America and Soviet Russia he gave proof of his personal courage and his ability as a statesman."

Die Welt writes of Nixon's realization that he had to become Republican candidate on his own terms, and not simply on the strength of a promise to win as many votes as possible at the election: "This was a danger in which he suddenly found himself at the Convention. He dealt with it in a manner that has aroused admiration among all who are acquainted with the art of politics." *Die Welt's* view is that Nixon showed enough personality to measure up to Kennedy – "There are no ideological, utopian or program differences. The choice will be made on the basis of personalities, and the margin is likely to be very small." Even the Social Democratic *Neue Rhein-Zeitung* notes that, "The Nixon of today is a man of great political acumen."

The Dusseldorf *Mittag* thinks that the American electorate will, quite simply, decide in favor of a candidate which it knows, rather than one who is an unknown quantity. In this the *Mittag* is, however, also stating its own preference. The paper makes a more operative point by suggesting that Khrushchev's "new offensive" will help Vice President Nixon more than Senator Kennedy.

Whatever slight bias exists in favor of Nixon, there is no sign of a bias *against* Kennedy. If it were sure that Mr. Stevenson's abilities were going to be used to the full, there would be a greater readiness among many Germans to recognize the merits of the new thinking which a Democratic President could infuse into the international scene. But Kennedy is accepted on his own merits; he has been called "triumphantly young," his toughness and sense of purpose are fully understood, and none of the doubts attach to him which attach to – for instance – the leading members of the British Labour Party.

I have the impression also that most Germans realize the wisdom of expressing their preference discreetly. There have been some mild examples of German tactlessness in this connection. The Federal Chancellor has expressed his distaste for Mr. Stevenson as a possible Secretary of State in what, charitably seen, must have been an offguard moment. The Federal Press Chief, Herr von Eckardt, has tailed Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Nixon in a manner which suggested German doubts about their suitability as future Presidents. It is as well that observant Germans have deplored this sort of activity. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, for instance, wrote very bluntly that the Federal Republic should not again dispatch a "very special ambassador" to a friendly country, where his preoccupation with that country's internal affairs could be misunderstood.

The role which the United States must play in Europe is the factor which, more than any other, turns German eyes across the Atlantic during the Presidential election. There are still doubts in Germany about the degree to which Britain may consider herself involved with "the Continent." There are new doubts about General de Gaulle's insistence on the need for French leadership in Europe and his preoccupation with institutional organization, precedence and prestige. There are no doubts about wanting the United States to be fully committed in Europe – no self-respecting German would scrawl up on a convenient wall that most damaging of all French gibes, *"Les Americains. . . ."*

TERENCE PRITTIE

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History Will Not Absolve Castro

by Daniel Friedenberg

I returned from my third trip to Cuba since 1958 a week after Professor Samuel Shapiro's article appeared in your September 12 issue. I waited some time to absorb and sort out impressions of my 11 days in Havana. Now I send you the following, more as a letter to myself than to Mr. Shapiro or the magazine's readers.

A jumble of recollections crowd my mind, some of which I tried to catch in an article published by *The New Republic* on February 17, 1958: The soldiers of Batista nervously clutching their guns around the Presidential Palace in Havana . . . the ruins of a building in the center of Santa Clara where a group of students had fallen in a suicide revolt . . . six thugs sitting in a circle near my room in Santiago de Cuba, rifles stacked in a neat heap, playing cards while they warily protected a candidate for public office against his constituents . . . two headless bodies lying in a splatter of blood at Manzanillo, young bodies, brains smeared into the red mud by Senator Rolando Masferrer's private army of sadists.

Castro's was a good fight, perhaps the only clean and unequivocal fight since the Spanish Civil War. At least I thought so in 1958 and still do with that part of my heart my mind tells me is unreliable.

Then my thoughts turn to Havana two years later. I still was *Fidelista* and tried to explain why in an article published in the Summer 1960 issue of *Dissent*. But I had become a troubled *Fidelista*. The Fidel Castro who wrote *History Will Absolve Me*, that impassioned defense of a young man who awaited the torture chamber and the firing squad, that plea for decency and justice that brought tears to the eyes . . . could that young man be so transfigured by power that he had become a maniac?

I refused to believe it. It was America's fault; the United States, by its stupid and criminal support of Batista, had brought on this reaction. Sugar was the symbol of Cuba's exploitation, as oil had been the symbol of Mexico's, and Cuba's fight to free itself was a fight for national emancipation.

Even with the visible evidence of a totalitarian state before me, even while reading the portrayal by the Cuban press of our country as a ravaging Fascist power, I believed with the best part of me that in the Cuban mixture of good and bad, the good was the higher truth. And even with a submachine gun pointed to my back at a public meeting, the muzzle held by a grim soldier because I had asked an embarrassing question, I could still, sweating cold, defend Fidel Castro, whatever the logic of it.

So I returned to Havana a third time several weeks ago, to a city held in a new mesh and a new doctrine. And when I came back to the United States, I understood for the first time how my grandparents must have felt when they saw the shoreline of New York. I sympathize with Fidel Castro and feel the tragedy of his position, but I no longer think history will absolve him.

It would be useless to confute the mistakes in fact, the wrong innuendos and false conclusions of Professor Shapiro. Like the good soldier, he believes, and then assembles his hopes and dreams to support his belief. But there comes a time when the weight of the facts becomes so heavy, the contradiction between our dream and reality so gross, we must throw off our delusions, or cease being honest men. And that time has come.

Contrary to misleading comparisons with Nasser of Egypt and Tito of Yugoslavia, Castro's Cuba today in most ways resembles a Soviet satellite. It may be *Fidelism* is "parallel" but not "equivalent," "similar" but not "the same": the sum of the digits can be nothing but the total if one respects the rules of arithmetic. I am not saying that Fidel Castro is a Communist, but that in every way he supports Soviet imperialism. The *final* line separating a positive neutralist and a puppet Communist is unequivocal and complete support of the foreign policy of the Soviet Empire. One can hate capitalism and be neutralist; distrust of America is widespread; agrarian reform and cooperatives have almost become respectable; a controlled press and state are commonplace: but the final test is a Pavlovian salivation to Khrushchev's bell.

In the six months between my second and third trips to Havana, the degree of Soviet influence had increased enormously. Six months ago Fidel Castro appeared undecided; it is apparent now that at some point he had made a decision to use the Russians and Chinese as counterweights in a desperate struggle for survival. I feel sure he believes he can control them and that the distances involved make any physical conquest of Cuba impossible; but the evidence is against his gamble. Step by step, all the while thinking he is smarter than Khrushchev – and cagier than his brother Rául and Ché Guevara – he is burning his bridges.

I do not lean on the evidence of the many missions

MR. FRIEDENBERG, *a Spanish-speaking New York City businessman, has written sympathetically of the Castro revolution in this and other magazines.*

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"Just for Laughs, How About Letting Me Set Up a U-2 Base?"

from Eastern Europe, Russia and China operating throughout Cuba – military advisers, engineers, doctors and professors. The restaurants in the Vedado District are filled with them at mealtime. The better hotels are empty except for these new "tourists." They range into the many hundreds, perhaps thousands. If the Czechs and Russians teach country people how to run machines and the Chinese teach them how to plant rice, I suppose it could be said, all the better for Cuba.

Nor do I lean on the evidence of cult worship for Fidel, much more pronounced than on my earlier trips. The *caudillo* concept is in the bones of all the peoples descended from Spain. The English tradition is one of meliorism, compromise which rests on the assumption that a combination of views is superior to any one fanatically held and expressed. This tradition the Spaniard indignantly denounces; the dignity of a man refuses to allow compromise, which to him is a bastardizing of the truth. And the principles of dignity meets *caudilloism* since it is men, and not parties, who embody the truth.

Neither do I lean on the Marxist propaganda crowding all bookstores and kiosks in Havana. The newspapers, pamphlets and books denouncing America, glorifying Cuba and urging one to accept Marxist philosophy are *still* counterbalanced by an occasional copy of Djilas' *The New Class*. As long as one copy of this book can be obtained, Cuba cannot be branded a Communist state.

And I do not even lean on the evidence of an absolute dictatorship. Unlike the Mexican Revolution, which was an inchoate uprising, without leaders, alternately settling for brief periods and in certain localities on Madero, Villa, Zapata, the Cuban Revolution was and is a one-man show. True, there was general disgust with the brutality and venality of Batista's gang, but it was a diffuse sentiment: and it crystallized around the figure of Fidel Castro. Fidel *is* the Revolution. It is at all times, moment to moment and day to day, simply what Fidel Castro thinks. The Cubans consider Ché Guevara a foreigner, Rául Castro is feared and mistrusted, President Dórticos is nothing. Rolando Cubela and Faure Chomón have only specialist talents, Jiménez a literary background – but Fidel is a giant, the only one who can inspire people against their self-interest to make sacrifices and compel doubters to go along – and there are many doubters. Without the Maximum Leader, the Revolution would fall apart.

Only Fidel could lead the Cubans, who hate and loathe Communism, into the arching net. For the people of Cuba, knowing nothing of the intrigues of the ruling elite, still idolize Castro – not the rich, not the middle class, not the servants and waiters and taximen who lived on the tourists in Havana, but the vast poor and disregarded people who only see the good that is being done, who touch the new tractors and pay less rent and do not suffer when aspirins and tomato sauce and toothpicks disappear from the market.

The entire machinery of state is directed toward holding the allegiance of these miserable peons of an outworn oligarchy, and the US is used by the Cuban Government much as Hitler used the Jews. The mote in America's eye has become a stone; and the stone of the Soviet is not even a mote. Foreign Minister Raúl Roa is portrayed as a martyr on the ubiquitous banners and in the controlled press and radio; over my hotel an enormous placard referred to his Mission of Truth at Costa Rica, though the sophisticated managers themselves thought him a Communist. Little Cuba is pictured, in terms of the popular fable now selling everywhere in Havana, as a poor Sardine struggling to avoid a Shark.

When these people are asked how the recent National Assembly – a shouting mob summoned by Castro and transported in holiday mood from the farthermost corners of the country – could be called an election, reference is made to the corrupt elections of the past, to Grau San Martín, Prío Socarrás, Machado and Batista. "We are not ready for elections yet" is the final response. When one talks of the attacks against the Church, the prompt answer is that many of the priests are Spanish and Falangist. When one inquires about Communist influence, it is either denied or be-

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littled; and reference is then made to the visit of Eisenhower to Franco. In truth, there is no science of politics and when the discrimination practiced against Negroes in our South is equated with the repression of whole states like Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania by the Soviet Union, it may be only faith that determines the relative weight we give one side or the other; and even hard common sense is frustrated if Hungary is weighted against Guatemala.

But the result of such radical relativism leads to a critical suspension of judgment that gives the victory to those who are hard and sure. The politicians have been corrupt! – therefore, eliminate politics and let the Leader express the aspirations of his people. The press was venal! – now bring forth those true patriots appointed by the government to give men the truth. The Church is dominated by Spanish priests of Falange sympathies! – let us control the Church so it reflects "progressive" influence. The US colonialized the Cuban economy! – break this stranglehold and turn to America's enemies who *ipso facto* are our friends. Washington has exerted pressure on the Latin American countries to isolate Cuba! – expose those false friends and encourage dissension to unmask their hypocrisy. A ravenous America would destroy us! – but we have succeeded in forestalling a new tyranny in our beloved country by help from the Soviet Union.

If one accepts these arguments – most of which are to some extent correct – the result must be the creation and development of a National Socialist economy run by a Leader and dependent (if not completely submissive) on Soviet money and military aid. The sum of all these half-truths is the acceptance of a new lie: that the Soviet Union is more benevolent, more disinterested, and less hypocritical than the United States.

What we finally come to is Fidel Castro's confidence that he can use Russia to neutralize America and thus achieve freedom. Many small powers in history thought this was possible; and the same history is littered with their corpses. In the case of Cuba, the possibility is even more dubious because, aside from the delusions of Fidel Castro himself, the evidence indicates that Raúl Castro and Ché Guevara are naturally inclined toward the Soviet camp to begin with.

But, in the larger sense, the great danger flowing from Cuba (and yet flowing from the best of impulses!) is that it may represent the beginning of a series of ideological wars on the American continent. Thucydides, in his brilliant picture in *The Peloponnesian War* of the various city states contending with themselves and each other as a result of the ideological conflict between Athens and Sparta, portrays cities rendered and sacked by contending factions within and without, all humanity thrown aside in the holocaust. This is what Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana is trying to avoid in Africa. But already we see Cuba growling and snarling at the Inter-American meetings, trying to pull strings in Mexico, Venezuela and Peru. For Fidel is an ideologue and a fighter to the bitter end, and the rift, in my opinion, has gone too far for healing. Unless one accepts the view that a variant of Communism – and breaking the power of the United States – is the high point of history, and all who are willing to compromise for less are cowards, then what Castro is doing will be a tragedy for the people of the Americas.

From such muddy antecedents it is difficult to see clearly what the future may be. It would seem, however, that Fidel Castro's hopes have slight chance of success. Either Cuba will enter the Soviet camp to a still greater degree, or the revolutionary government will fall with American influence heightened as a result. The latter is more likely. Everyone familiar with Argentina said "it would never be the same" after the fall of Perón. "The workers had learned dignity . . . the *oligarquía* had learned caution" were often quoted. Perón fell and Argentina is not only the same today as before Perón but more so. The workers did not learn dignity – indeed, the trade unions have less real power than 40 years ago – and the oligarchs certainly have not learned caution.

Likewise, I have the feeling that economic pressures will make Fidel Castro unpopular in the long run and that Russia will not risk war over this small country. When things hit bottom, the United States will lend $500 million to a new Cuban Government on the pledge that the confiscated properties will be returned or the former owners indemnified. American capital will reenter Cuba just as it has returned in even greater force to Mexico since the "Revolutionary Party" changed its name to the "Revolutionary Institutional Party."

Fidel, for all his noble motives, is turning the clock back by his excessive zeal. A glorious opportunity will have been thrown into the ash can of history by his fanaticism and inability to see what flirtation with the Communists means, to understand that some small compromises are necessary in the larger movements of political life. History will sympathize but not absolve him for that.

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by Samuel Shapiro

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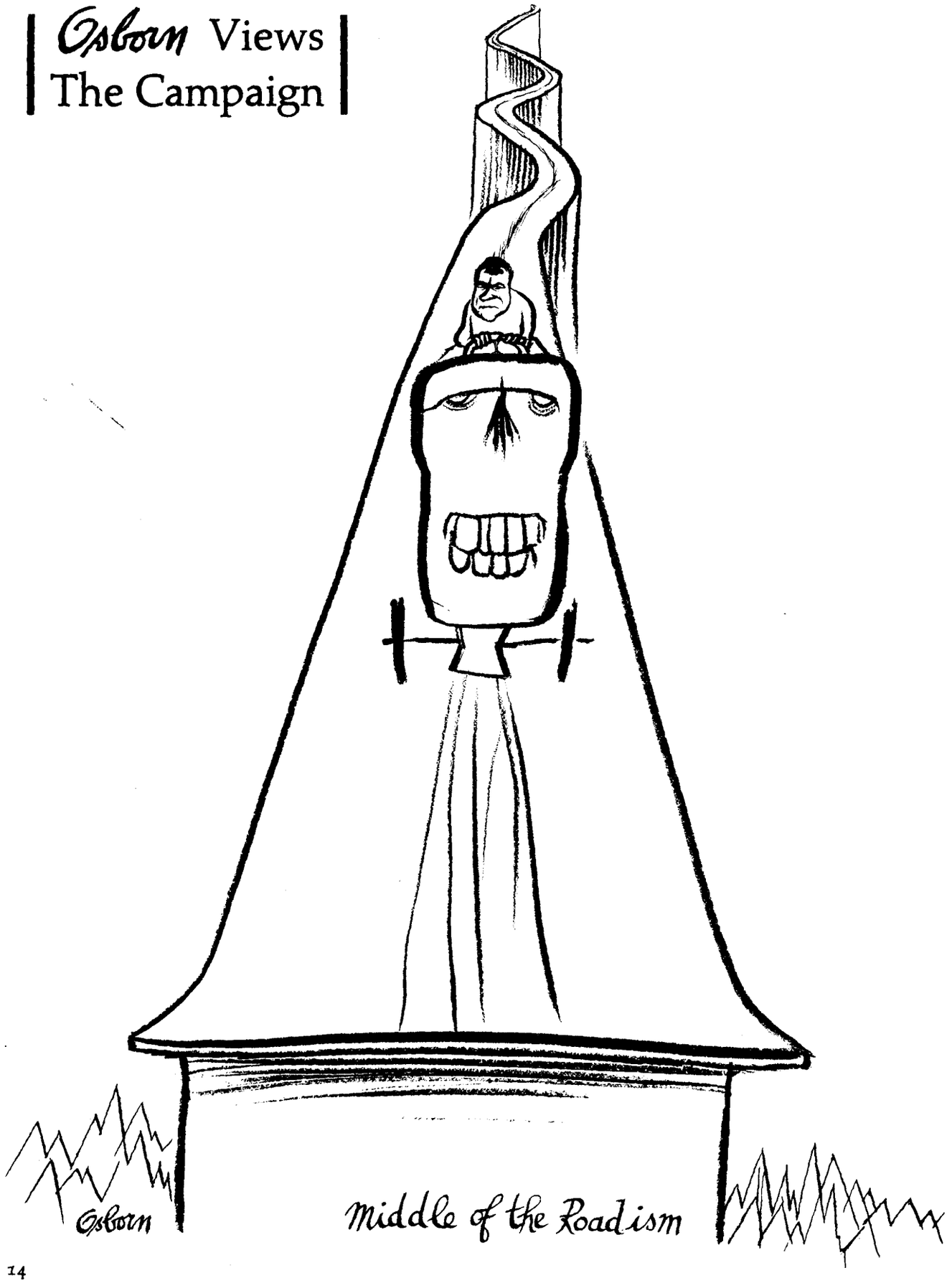
Osborn Views The Campaign



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Statements of the Candidates on Growth

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON

"While we must put our primary faith in creative private enterprise as the major dynamic force in assuring growth of our economy, we recognize that where private enterprise can't or won't do the job, government activity is not only justified but essential. By government activity, I have in mind not only the federal government but state and local governments as well. . . . If we are to grow at a maximum rate, we must recognize the continuing need for investment in the public sector – in our public education establishment, in our national transportation system, in the renewal of our run-down urban areas, in the development of our natural and human resources, in providing imaginative new leadership for the exciting scientific and technological revolution which will dramatically change the whole character of life in America and the world in our lifetime." – *June 21, 1960*

I would say that my goal, and I think the only proper goal, for those who do not buy the theory of government manipulated growth, the only proper goal is a maximum growth rate. It might, in some instances be 3 percent, in some instances 4, in some instances 5. . . . The way to get that growth is not, as those who advise Senator Kennedy have indicated, through government manipulation of interest rates, through government spending as a means to insure growth; but the way to get that growth is through such government activities as create the climate for maximum expansion of the private sector of the economy.

– *Washington, D. C., July 23, 1960*

The reason that we've had the funds, for example, locally to build the schools, and the hospitals, and the highways, to make the progress that we have is because this Administration has encouraged individual enterprise and it has resulted in the greatest expansion of the private sector of the economy that has ever been witnessed in an eight-year period. And that is the growth that we are looking for . . .

– *Chicago TV Debate, September 26, 1960*

The Soviet Union has been moving faster than we have. But the reason for that is obvious. They start from a much lower base. Although they have been moving faster in growth than we have, we find, for example, today that their total gross national product is only 44 percent of our total gross national product.

– *Chicago TV Debate, September 26, 1960*

SENATOR KENNEDY

There are three facts:

1. Our economy, under the first six years of the Republican Administration, grew one-half as much as under the last six years of the Truman Administration.

Fact No. 2. The Russian economy is growing at three times the rate of ours.

Fact No. 3. Last year the United States had the lowest rate of economic growth of any major industrialized society in the world.

I don't like to see the United States second to any country. We are going to make the United States the first, here, and to all those who look for freedom.

With an average rate of growth in this country every working man in the last eight years would have received $7,000 more than he has received – for an education, or a new house, or a rainy day, or his old age. With a really healthy rate of growth this country can have full employment for all who want a job; with a really healthy rate of growth we can pay for all the defenses that this Administration said we can't afford.

With a really healthy rate of growth we can afford the best schools for our children and the best-paid and the best-trained teachers . . . we can talk about an economic crusade for justice.

And, finally, if we're going to grow the way we should grow we must adopt fiscal policies that will stimulate growth and not discourage it. Every American who financed a home, who bought a refrigerator, who bought an automobile, bought a television set, has suffered from this high-interest-rate policy.

– *September 5, 1960*

The next President of the United States must promptly set forth a sound legislative and executive program launching an all-out attack on poverty in this prosperous country. We have the abundance to eventually eliminate poverty, if we will – but it will take effective policies of full employment – a higher minimum wage – better Social Security and jobless pay – more slum clearance – aid to depressed areas – more help to the marginal farmer, the sharecropper and the migrant worker – a concentrated drive on illiteracy – improved distribution of surplus food – and a better economic break for minority groups. . . . – *September 20, 1960*

The point was made by Mr. Nixon that the Soviet production is only 44 percent of ours. I must say that 44 percent and that Soviet country is causing us a good deal of trouble tonight.

– *Chicago TV Debate, September 26, 1960*

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Investment and Consumption

by Leon H. Keyserling

Dr. James Tobin's article in the July 25 *New Republic*, "Growth Through Taxation," and the more recent article by Sen. Paul Douglas and Howard Shuman, "Growth Without Inflation," both make valuable contributions to the discussion of economic growth. Since the Douglas-Shuman article sets forth views with which I am generally in agreement, my comments are directed primarily to Dr. Tobin's exposition.

Dr. Tobin urges an annual growth rate of about 4.5 percent, or only slightly lower than the 5 percent rate which seems to me optimum in view of the new technology. He thus soundly rejects the idea popularized by some other economists that a rapid overall rate of growth is no longer of high priority, and that instead we should concentrate primarily upon reallocating existing production from private to public use. The goals he sets for 1965, compared with 1959, involve large absolute growth in all three components of national production – private investment in the means of production (and in other capital goods such as housing), private consumption, and government purchases of goods and services.

Despite these merits, I feel that Dr. Tobin's analysis errs in two vital respects: *First*, I believe that he places far too much weight upon expansion of private investment in the means of production relative to combined expansion of private and public consumption (government purchases of goods and services); and *second*, while I am in full sympathy with his emphasis upon expansion of public consumption, I believe his goals for the relative expansion of public and private consumption grossly undervalue the desirability of expansion of private consumption to reduce private poverty.

Dr. Tobin's basic argument is that satisfactory economic growth in the long run depends upon more production per capita; and that this requires enlarged investment in plant and equipment, not only absolutely (with which I would agree) but also relative to total consumption. Consequently, he proposes that private investment in plant and equipment should increase by about 82 percent from 1959 to 1965, thus rising from about 9 percent of total national production in 1959 to about 12 percent in 1965, while private and public consumption combined would increase by only about 31 percent during the same period, thus declining from about 85 percent of total national production to about 82 percent. Yet it seems to me clear that the recurrent recessions and periods of stagnation since the end of the Korean War have flowed from the tendency of short-lived investment "booms" to outpace private and public consumption. Large unused productive capacities preceded the recessions of 1953-54 and 1957-58. Now again in late 1960, at least 10 percent of our total productive capacity in being is now idle. The true level of unemployment, taking into account the full-time equivalent of part-time employment, has averaged close to 7 percent (seasonally adjusted) of the labor force thus far in 1960. This gap threatens another economic recession in the year ahead, unless our ability to consume is brought into line with our ability to produce.

It seems to me essential to recognize that the low rate of economic growth in recent years has come from unused plant and manpower, not from low productivity gains (gains in output per man-hour worked) among those employed. Furthermore, the allegedly low rate of productivity gains has meant merely that plants operating at 50 to 70 percent of capacity are using their manpower inefficiently, even if this be due to the laudable desire not to increase unemployment of manpower as rapidly as unemployment of plant. The prime way to expand actual output per man-hour up to the limit of our technological potential (which recent data shows has been increasing very rapidly) would be to maintain that balance between consumption and investment which would maintain reasonably full employment of resources in being, not to increase unemployment and spawn inefficiencies by helping investment to get still further out of line with consumption.

Even accepting for the moment Dr. Tobin's private investment projection, I feel strongly that his goals for the respective expansion of private and public consumption are seriously out of balance. Comparing 1965 with 1959, his goals would lift private consumption only 25 percent, while public consumption would increase 48 percent.

The increases in public outlays for goods and serv-

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ices which I project in an accompanying table, from $98 billion in 1959 to $133 billion in 1965, would (allowing for the fact that conventional budgetary outlays are much higher than goods and services outlays) require that the Federal Budget be lifted from about $80 billion in fiscal 1959 to close to $110 billion by calendar 1965, and that state and local outlays rise to the full limits of their financial capabilities. With such increases, we could lift our domestic and international public efforts enough to comport with the highest practical goals which I have been able to envisage with respect to education and health, housing and urban renewal and resource development, science and national defense and international economic cooperation, and all other public services.

But to advance on the public front at Dr. Tobin's speed would, according to his own estimates, limit the growth in private consumption to about one percent per year on a per capita basis. This would make no substantial inroads upon private poverty in America, and might even worsen the situation under the regressive policies which Dr. Tobin advocates.

Today we have glaring contrasts of luxury, affluence, comfort and poverty in both our private and public sectors – affluent and starved universities, rich and poor families – and we must strive to reduce *all* of these contrasts in balanced proportions instead of erecting a telling slogan about tail fins and overcrowded schools into an erroneous general principle of action.

According to official 1958 data (there has been little change since) there are about 12 million multiple-person families in the United States, or more than a fourth of the nation's multiple-person families, with annual incomes below $4,000. The *average* for these families is only about $2,500, which means also that many are far below this figure. There are, in addition, about 4 million individuals living alone (single-person families) with annual income below $2,000. My projections for the expansion of private consumption (coupled with the specific programs I recommend), in contrast with Dr. Tobin's projections, would by 1965 reduce the multiple-person families below $4,000 to about one-eighth the current number, and better than cut in half the number of individuals living alone on incomes below $2,000.

It is argued by some that improved public services are the road to the reduction of private poverty. This is only partially true. The removal of the bulk of this poverty, even at only a tolerably rapid pace, requires not only optimum economic growth and expanding levels of public outlays for domestic services, *but also that there be allocated to the total expansion of private consumption a large enough share of the total expansion of the overall economy* – which Dr. Tobin opposes. And there must also be redistributive efforts, including better minimum wage laws, rapidly expanded social security, a new farm program, progressive changes in the composition of taxation, a new monetary policy, and a reconstruction of the whole pattern of price-wage-profit relationships. Dr. Tobin's policies run counter to this redistribution.

We see that the Soviets are moving ahead in rockets or science or education, and we become properly agitated about catching up through more public programs. But alas, some of us seem to feel that our great system is not strong enough to match and exceed the balanced progress which the Russians are making on many related fronts – fronts which will soon involve the rapid advance of those living standards which in our economy are serviced mainly by private incomes and consumption. We even hear diatribes, not only against the orgiastic consumption of some of the rich, not only against a distorted sense of values in choices among consumer goods, but also against "consumption" in general. When shall we stop being panicked by our totalitarian competitors, and start being true to our own potentials and aspirations?

Dr. Tobin's recommendations flow smoothly from his basic goals. His specific proposals relate to tax policy. These tax proposals are directed, in addition to the objective of enough public revenues, toward additional stimuli to private investment (via additional

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT 1959, AND PROJECTED 1965

	billions of 1959 dollars			*percent of total*		
	1959	1965		1959	1965	
		Tobin	*Keyserling*		*Tobin*	*Keyserling*
Gross National Product	479	650	680	100	100	100
Private Consumption	311	390	439	65	60	65
Public Consumption (public outlays for goods and services)	98	145	133	20	22	20
Gross Private Domestic Investment (plant and equipment)	70 (44)	115 (80)	105 (69)	15 (9)	17 (12)	15 (10)

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MAGNITUDES OF PROJECTED GROWTH AND ITS COMPOSITION, 1959-1965

	billions of 1959 dollars		*percent change*		*percent of total increase*	
	Tobin	*Keyserling*	*Tobin*	*Keyserling*	*Tobin*	*Keyserling*
Gross National Product	171	201	36	42	100	100
Private Consumption	79	128	25	41	46	64
Public Consumption (public outlays for goods and services)	47	35	48	36	27	17
Gross Private Domestic Investment	45	35	64	50	26	18
plant and equipment	(36)	(25)	(82)	(57)	(21)	(12)

"saving") at the expense of private consumption. He would liberalize certain features of the corporate tax structure to encourage private investment above certain norms; increase personal income taxes *at all levels*, with permission to deduct a certain portion of savings (above certain norms) from income subject to tax; expand the social security system by methods which would – in the cause of still more savings – help payroll taxes to grow much more rapidly than paid-out benefits; increase state and local taxes, whether income or property or *sales* taxes; and impose taxes to restrain advertising of consumer goods.

My objections to these proposals are explicit in my foregoing analysis: we do not need to expand private investment *at the expense of* private consumption. Moreover, even if Dr. Tobin's investment goals were correct, his proposed tax bounties and measures to enlarge savings would not achieve these goals. Private investment since the end of the Korean War has not been inadequate for the period as a whole *because* savings or profits or other available funds were too low; it has been inadequate because both private and public consumption have expanded too little to sustain an adequate level of business investment. In fact, during the short-lived booms, savings and profits and other funds have been high enough to incite hectic investment booms; and this is not inconsistent with the fact that investments and profits shrank greatly when recessions subjected them to the results of their own temporary excesses at the expense of consumption. Dr. Tobin's program would militate against growth by giving us more of the same.

And by social criteria, Dr. Tobin's tax program is undesirable. Manifestly, high income people are the big savers, and they already have too many ways of avoiding the intent of a progressive tax system by many types of "saving" and subterfuges. Huge numbers of low income people actually spend more than they earn. So why hand out still more tax bonanzas at the top? The current social security system is already too regressive and too repressive of consumption, by collecting too much money relative to the amounts paid out in benefits; why make it more so? State and local taxation is already too regressive; why place even more relative reliance upon it? Actually, current tax rates are in the overall high enough to pay fully for the expanded public services we need, provided that optimum economic growth is maintained and *progressive* revisions in the tax structure would promote such growth.

These great issues will emerge, clearly or blurred, during the political campaign. Happily, the Democratic platform seems to me basically in accord with the views I have expressed here. More happily still, it is now clear that Senator Kennedy, instead of falling into the trap that we are opulent in our private lives but starved in our public services, is calling for the liquidation of private poverty quite as insistently as for an all-out attack upon the neglect of our public services. Instead of accepting the view that expanded production is no longer urgent, that we should modify our commitment to full employment, and that we should strive primarily to shift current resources from private to public use, he is calling for maximum economic growth, full employment, and the creation of abundance rather than the rationing of scarcity.

Instead of urging the imposition of sales tax on the ground that, in an affluent society, there are no useful distinctions between luxuries and necessities, Senator Kennedy sees that millions of American families are still in want, and that millions of American children are still malnutritioned because their families cannot buy enough food even without more sales taxes. Above all, Senator Kennedy is urging that we need maximum economic growth to help remove poverty and discontent overseas. And he recognizes that we can inspire the rest of the world only if we resume the crusade against poverty in the United States instead of talking complacently about our opulence. By continuing the course which he has so vigorously set, Senator Kennedy will in my judgment inspire the nation and establish a powerful base upon which to build from January, 1961, forward.

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In Search of Identity

Kennedy's round. At least so it seemed to this observer at the end of the first TV show, but the decision, it must be admitted, was on form rather than on power.

Yet the advantage was clear enough to arouse suspicion that Nixon may be defeated, not by Kennedy, nor by Khrushchev, but by Kleig, who invented the lights they use on television. Under that harsh, relentless glare Kennedy looked seraphic and Nixon looked like home-made sin. Reasonable men know that it was illusory in both cases, but there it was, and among 65 million viewers there must be plenty who are swayed by appearances. Mr. Nixon's friends might be well-advised to call off the other debates for fear of the third, not of Kennedy or Khrushchev.

Otherwise the debate merely heightened the superficial aspect of this campaign, to wit, that of two characters in search of identity. Some things Mr. Kennedy is that Mr. Nixon is not, and *vice versa*, but most of them are altogether irrelevant to the question before the country. On those points that really should sway the decision, the difference between the two is still less than entirely clear.

Nevertheless, it seems to this observer that in the course of the debate some light began to come through. In the first place, the thing was serious argument, not mere tub-thumping and not an exchange of wisecracks. Both men did the unseen audience the compliment of assuming that it is looking for information, not for entertainment. At the end, one felt that the hour had been spent in a way that no man of sense would call a waste; which suggests that the next debate may be followed with even closer attention.

Furthermore, less from any specific utterance than from the general tone of the argument, one gained the impression that Mr. Kennedy is being shoved into reliance on kinetic, and Mr. Nixon on potential energy. Both are obviously distrustful of the thrust and inclined to resist it, which is natural enough. The fabulous popularity of Ike, pastmaster of Utter Confusion, has inspired in all politicians a disposition to recoil from being anything in particular; hence the current lack of identity.

But the candidates seem to be slowly realizing that neither of them is an Eisenhower or a Coolidge, capable of building Nothingness into an immense success; hence the quickening search for identity. The trend encourages all who believe that what the *Baltimore Sun's* Frank Kent called The Great Game of Politics ought to be played with some degree of rationality. Mr. Kennedy's reiterated, "I am not satisfied," was a necessary explanation of his being there at all; and it forced Mr. Nixon into saying in effect, if not in so many words, "I am satisfied."

Neither position is altogether satisfactory to the candidate holding it. Mr. Nixon is certainly not satisfied with the record of a Democratic Congress in the past six years, while Mr. Kennedy must at least profess satisfaction with it. But each is a position, and Ike has contrived to throw American politics into such confusion that it is next to impossible for a candidate to find any position that is entirely consistent.

However, it is now on record that Mr. Nixon, on the whole, is satisfied, and that Mr. Kennedy, on the whole, is not. That is at least a start, and on that basis it should be possible to stage a debate that has some relation to the conduct of public affairs. This is what Adlai Stevenson never was able to do, for there is no possible refutation of sentimentality. There was no answer to "I like Ike," any more than there was an answer to "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." In both instances thinking was adjourned and emotion swept the field.

If it is true that thinking has now been resumed, even in a small way, it immediately becomes necessary for every candidate to be somehow differentiated from the mass, to assume some kind of identity other than that of blonde or brunet, tall or short, Irish or English – some identity related to the qualifications of a President of the United States.

When a man is not satisfied, then it is to be presumed that he intends to stir his stumps, and there we have Kennedy. If he is satisfied, he will advance only with great caution, and there we have Nixon. As each explains the way in which he intends to act according to his lights, we should be able to learn something about his qualifications, rather than about his complexion, his ancestry and his preference as between chocolate, strawberry and vanilla.

There is danger, of course, that Kennedy may win on light-and-shadow, as Eisenhower won on five stars; but there is a fair chance that by the end of the second round Kennedy may be identified positively as a Democrat and Nixon as a Republican.

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What Shall We Do with the Gifted Child?

John Hersey's *The Child Buyer* (Knopf; $4) is a polemical book dealing with, among other things, education, science and government. It is also the work of a prominent novelist and therefore must be judged as literature. The novel is so controversial that it will be read as widely by people who detest it as by people who admire it. For this reason, we have departed from our usual policy and engaged five reviewers, each competent in a different field, to present their assessments. – THE EDITORS

The Shortest Way with Assenters

by Margaret Halsey

In his most recent book, *The Child Buyer*, John Hersey has taken an unfaltering and starkly courageous look at what is usually called The American Way, or Our Way of Life. As a result of his scrutiny, he has produced a critique which may well deserve to be ranked alongside Zola's *J'Accuse* or Swift's *A Modest Proposal*. Undeflected by considerations of caution or self-protection, Mr. Hersey has looked at the civilization of steering-wheel-twirlers and concluded that if it is "rich," it is rich only in the sense in which the word is applied to compost.

Strong stuff?

The Child Buyer is indeed strong stuff.

A sub-title on the jacket describes it as "a novel in the form of hearings before the Standing Committee on Education, Welfare and Public Morality of a certain State Senate, investigating the conspiracy of Mr. Wissey Jones, with others, to purchase a male child." The male child is to be purchased by a giant corporation in a sort of talent search which is ostensibly for "national defense," and the plot moves quickly and easily to its horrifying climax.

The Child Buyer is appalling in its honesty, and in the undeniable truth of its statement about what we have let ourselves become. At the same time, it is exhilarating. Here is that *rara avis* of our times, a man of authentic passion.

Men of passion acquire detractors, and Mr. Hersey will certainly have a substantial number of unfriendly critics. These critics will say – and with justice – that *The Child Buyer* is not a novel, but a tract. The suggestion will be that nobody needs to pay attention to the author's message, because a tract is a fairly contemptible form of literary effort, requiring for its production only lop-sided observation and a dyspeptic disposition. Actually, of course, a tract at its best is a blazing and arrowy phenomenon which can be successfully produced only by a writer of high principle, accesible emotions and an experienced hand at his craft. *The Child Buyer* is a tract at its superlative best.

Not that the book is wholly without flaws. The artifices of the characters' speech, as the story begins to unfold, take a little getting used to. And at the dénouement, the motivation of one important person is not wholly convincing. That is Dr. Gozar, the school principal. Critics will not be justified, however, in noting as a fault in the book that the characters are one-dimensional. The characters are meant to be one-dimensional, as they are in *Gulliver's Travels*.

The Child Buyer will no doubt be widely referred to as a book about elementary school education, and certainly all the familiar figures and paraphernalia are there – the gifted child, the psychological tests, the classroom teacher, the educational vocabularies, the school principal, the school superintendent, the president of the PTA, the guidance counselor, the gifted child's parents and the State Supervisor for Exceptional Children. But *The Child Buyer* is a book about education only in the sense that Dante's *Inferno* is a book about taking a walk. Education is merely the material which the author uses to make his point.

Similarly, because the story is told in the form of hearings before a Senatorial committee, the book may often be described as revolving around McCarthyism. And certainly in his three Senators Mr. Hersey has produced a panel of sitters-in-judgment which calls ir-

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resistibly to mind the late Georges Rouault's black-limned portraits.

But the book is not basically concerned with McCarthyism, either.

There has been a literary fashion recently for criticizing things American. From Walter Lippmann to the *Reader's Digest*, everyone is agreed that we Americans have grown soft and that we have no national purpose. This criticism has had no noticeable effect – in part because it is fragmented. Critic A concerns himself with the scars left by McCarthyism. Critic B is exercised by our not having done anything about education, in despite of Sputnik. And so on.

What gives *The Child Buyer* its authority – its air of absolute command – is that Mr. Hersey has sensed that all these varying problems are simply different aspects of the same thing. He puts McCarthyism and the exploitation of children together because they belong together. It *all* belongs together – our cowardice in not defending McCarthy's victims, our refusal to take true responsibility for our children, our concurrence in the exploitation of human emotion for the sake of larger sales. It is one solid, homogeneous pattern of ignoble behavior into which we seem to have got ourselves locked.

The Child Buyer is a well wrought book, but what sets it apart from the usual ruck of fashionable scoldings is the unself-serving intensity of its scorn. Here is more than the *cri du coeur* of the artist asphyxiated by commercialism. Here is more than the thin scream of the paralyzed idealist. This is the pure, clear wrath of the righteous man; and so far from being intimidating, it is exciting. Mr. Hersey in writing this book has done something intelligent and brave, and by implication he asks his countrymen also to be intelligent and brave. So clear is the implication that more than one reader of *The Child Buyer*, in this autumn of 1960, is going to think what a pity it is that the author is not running for President.

May We Have a Positive Contribution?

by B. F. Skinner

John Hersey is angry, and his anger has not improved his book. He has filled it with caricatures too extreme to be entertaining. A Senator says: "Some guy wants to buy some kid, right? What's with the kid?" A superintendent of schools is dismissed from the witness stand because he cannot answer direct questions. The purchased child, conceivably drawn to enlist our sympathies, is a little monster who speaks mainly by quoting from encyclopedias and etymological dictionaries. The form of the book grows more and more awkward. There is actually no "investigation of a conspiracy to purchase a male child," for the purchaser is quite frank about his intentions, except for certain security restrictions respected by the committee, which is therefore reduced to reviewing uninteresting facts about a stink bomb and the stoning of a boy's home. As it eventually emerges, the story is implausible. We are asked to believe, for example, that an organization using a highly developed technology of human behavior and working under a lush government contract has left the procurement of the bright children it needs to an oddball who is inept enough to try to scare a mother into selling her son.

The explanation of these egregious literary lapses on the part of an established writer may be found on the jacket. Mr. Hersey "has been a member of a local school board and of a town school study committee; chairman of a state committee on the problems of gifted children; member of the National Citizens' Commission on the Public Schools; delegate to the White House Conference on Education; member of the National Citizens' Council for Better Schools; and consultant to the Fund for the Advancement of Education." In other words, he has been trying to do something about education.

To many readers this will explain his irritation and excuse his lapses, but they may still want to ask whether it has led to any positive contribution. The book hits too hard to be entertaining; and if it is to compensate for this by arousing the reader, what action is the reader to take? The author appears to favor the immediate discharge of most of those now engaged in education, but who will take their places? Does he see a better future for education, and if so, what?

His answer is possibly to be extracted from the more fanciful part of the book. A child is to be purchased and subjected to the following treatment: He is to be confined in a Forgetting Chamber and brainwashed of all memories. Next, he is to be taught tool subjects and appropriate attitudes via television, radio, and books. He is then to be fed a large number of useful facts. Finally, his senses are to be tied off, surgically. As a result his I.Q. will rise to about 1,000, and he will then compete with (presumably Communist) geniuses in the national defense.

This is, indeed, a far cry from the program of enrichment which Mr. Hersey views with such contempt. It is also, of course, a caricature, even according to the standards of scientific fiction. Nevertheless, it gives us a clue, for it brings into focus a few suggestions scattered throughout the book.

Hersey evidently accepts the myth of the intellectual hero. Mankind will be saved by a few great brains. Education must therefore neglect the backward child, scrimp on the education of the common child, and concentrate on the available geniuses – say, that celebrated dozen in any generation "who can understand Einstein." But this is hero worship at its worst, and we may be thankful that modern educators have no such faith in the Power of Thought.

John Hersey is not alone in saying that something must be done about education. Has any responsible person neglected to say it? Nor can one object to special treatment of exceptional youngsters – preferably without surgery. But there are other things to be done. A society which makes the most of the talents of *all* its members need not worry about its geniuses. They will arise and achieve (and, in the nature of things, get most of the credit). But Hersey must dream another dream if he is to help solve the problem that way.

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Educator vs. Educationist

by Carl F. Hansen

Mr. Hersey clearly has had more than he can tolerate of the jargon of the educationist and the equivocation of the administrator. Without exception, little honor, not even that fragment which sometimes makes ineptness tolerable, can be found among the people who taught Hersey's genius or managed the schools in which this enterprise took place. The Board of Education, which concerns itself "at Board Meetings with bursted boilers," and the PTA in the person of a pinch-minded gossip fare little better, except that, apparently counting for little in the author's mind, they are given correspondingly trivial attention.

Satire is achieved here as it always is at the sacrifice of balance. Except for his obvious confidence in the natural teacher, a Minerva who springs full-bloom as a born teacher uncorrupted by courses in education, the author seems to find little in American education to justify confidence or inspire the slightest hope. Yet not all school superintendents are evasive, cowardly, frightened, though perhaps too many are. Not all counselors are unprincipled purveyors of psychological jargon, craven and for sale to the highest bidder. Most of them realistically avoid the silly patois available to them in the literature, and rarely is one of them tempted to sell his soul because few buyers find any profit in making offers that might corrupt them. This is true of teachers, too. What I am saying is simply that most teachers, counselors, and principals are about as cold to the blandishments of "educationists" as is Hersey. At the working level, the school demands more good sense than most people think. The author should have been more aware of this.

As to the influence upon the educational system of powerful and dominant interests, Hersey raises needed storm-warnings. The susceptibility to purchase is deep-rooted. Schools are invariably arms of the social units which support them. As such, they respond to orders and pressures. The schools must develop pressure-resistant personalities but, at the same time, remain open-minded to new trends and findings. The schools must attract staff who have the courage to put principle above security and the imagination to move from the crustaceous safety of the old ways to stimulating (but often treacherous) new streams of ideas. The present trouble is that education is not generally attracting and holding this quality of leadership.

Hersey quite rightly demonstrates that the structure of education does not provide adequately for the gifted. There is, as he suggests, sometimes a studied neglect of the gifted by teachers and school officials who unwittingly resent pupils who are brighter than they are. But I must say that the author's delineation of the personality of the gifted Rudd boy, described as one of "maybe the three hundred rarest potential minds in this country," is unconvincing. I have known many gifted youngsters in my time, but I have never known any as pompous and as exhibitionist as the "child" in this novel.

The author supplies a frightening demonstration of the possibility of a monstrous misuse of education. He has devised an "educational" scheme which would transmute into a pure intellectual mechanism the free will and ranging spirit of the liberal mind. I was not appalled, however, because this possibility is a most unlikely one. Only those who are now proposing windowless schools should take heed.

What is frightening to me is a deeper problem which is represented in the person and purpose of the Child Buyer. It is this: Is knowledge now becoming man's master? Will knowledge within the next fifty years become so vast and interrelated that to use and increase it some men must enslave themselves by rejecting every other experience but that which contributes to their command of it? The author has evoked an image of man challenged by a new colossus, again of his own making, and being required to find a way to educate himself to become the master without destroying his soul. *The Child Buyer* will find many avid readers among school people. They will read with rapid absorption, with considerable amusement, and with some degree of shock. And after putting the volume down for the first time, they will return to it again and again, for in moments of reflection they will be made uneasy by what they have read. This sense of unfinished business is a mark of greatness in Mr. Hersey's book.

Notes on Contributors

Margaret Halsey *is one of America's sharpest satirists and polemicists. Her newest novel* – This Demi - Paradise – *is about life in the suburbs.*

B. F. Skinner *could be the villain of* The Child Buyer, *for he is the inventor of a programming device known as "the teaching machine," which permits direct interaction between the student and the curriculum. This machine has long since passed the experimental stage and is being used for training in everything from elementary reading to higher mathematics. Dr. Skinner uses the machine himself, in teaching one of his Harvard Classes.*

Carl F. Hansen *is Superintendent of Schools for the District of Columbia. During his tenure, he has succeeded in completing racial desegregation in the schools of a large city where heavy resistance to integration was expected. He has also introduced a "track" system into the High Schools designed to give students of varying abilities the opportunity of studying with their intellectual peers. Finally, he is the author of the controversial "Amidon" project, about which this journal raised some doubts editorially last spring (April 4).*

William Jay Smith *is poet-in-residence at Williams College and one of the few authors of his rank who have written extensively for children. He is a Democratic candidate for the Vermont State legislature.*

Robert Gorham Davis, *a Columbia professor and widely published literary critic, is the author of a handbook for foreign students in the United States.*

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An Arrangement in Black and White

by Robert Gorham Davis

Taken as a work of the imagination, as giving any kind of illusion of life or reality, *The Child Buyer* is sheer nightmare. The characters are talkative grotesques, air-filled monsters, bobbing and swaying like balloons in the Macy parade on a windy Thanksgiving. There are no stable objects for the mind to hold to, except when the characters are talking about the natural sciences. The people – or non-people – are consistent only in their general smart-aleckness and in their total collapse into venality at the end of the book. In this respect Hersey's novel is like Friedrich Duerrenmatt's play *The Visit*.

The visitor in this instance is the resourceful agent of a great corporation who arrives in a typical American town to buy a ten-year-old genius named Barry Rudd. The agent, just to make things picturesque, turns up in old-fashioned plus-fours and riding a tiny collapsible motorcycle. In a detective story all the principal characters except the detective have to be unpleasant at the beginning, displaying enough resentment or greed so that any one of them may be supposed capable of the crime. *The Child Buyer* moves in the opposite direction. During much of the action – or talk, rather – some characters, mostly women, appear to be working in the interests of good, humanity, non-conformism, free intelligence. But then at the end, everyone sells out to the agent, this after learning that the corporation will destroy the bright boy as a human being by the most repulsive methods straight out of Huxley's *Brave New World*.

The educators who sound sensible and the educators who talk ridiculous jargon succumb alike in the most unfeeling way. We don't know where we are, or what psychological and social forces can be used to achieve what Hersey wants. These are supposed to be typical parents, teachers, school administrators, PTA officials, all as pictured on Norman Rockwell covers. Certainly we thought that we could count on Dr. Gozar, a woman of boundless energy, apparently utterly devoted to Barry and creativity and the experimental sciences. But she collapses, too. Only Barry Rudd and his tough friend Charles Perkonian retain some dignity. They are an erudite Tom Sawyer and a hipster-tongued Huckleberry Finn alone against the whole world of their elders.

To refer to names this way is to suggest that there are living characters in the novel. But they are all turned into grotesques by the slick, glib, machine-turned talk, varying and interchangeable from character to character. The novel purports to be the bare record of hearings before a state senatorial investigating committee. The author pretends not to describe or narrate, but only to report what was said. The speakers are permitted a few speech eccentricities, corresponding to the agent's plus-fours and collapsible motor cycle. But then – except for Charles Perkonian and an imbecile Senator, who don't know from nuttin' – they launch into long, complex sentences, full of colorful description that is pure Hersey. As a faithful reader of transcripts of Congressional hearings, I have never observed any such oral flights. Dr. Gozar tells the Senators or "a weasel gliding along, like the slippery hope in a thief's heart, beside a stone wall near a hen coop: the gaping mouths of baby robins, uptilted triangles, in a nest in dangerous springtime." Barry gives us two pages on the way trees look in October – "the incredible orange glow of hard maples – like the inside of a Halloween pumpkin when the candle's lit." The committee counsel feels impelled to describe the hotel desk with "its long slab of black-veined soapstone supported on interlacing aluminum M's." There is much fun with polysyllablic humor, with Barry's scientific terms and the jargon of the educationalists. Some of the facts of science which are introduced are very interesting, for instance the sex habits of the stickleback fish.

Seen beyond the torrents of talk, the action of the novel is all on the Tom Sawyer level. Dr. Gozar releases a stink bomb at a PTA meeting; the Child Buyer urges high school kids to throw slops at the Rudd house and break windows; as part of a plot worked out with Charles Perkonian, Barry plays doctor with a little girl in the school principal's storeroom. Of the social and political forces in America we learn as little as we do in *Advise and Consent*, a novel which *The Child Buyer* in many ways resembles.

Of the "ideas" in *The Child Buyer* it is not my place here to speak. But if it is a question of an imaginative encounter with unreal beings living in various kinds of rapport with the real world of nature, then I must say that I feel more at home with Tolkien's hobbits or Bronte's Heathcliffe and Katherine, than I do with my fellow Americans as Mr. Hersey conceives them.

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The Truly Handicapped

by William Jay Smith

Those readers who think that Mr. Hersey is exaggerating had better look around them. Barry Rudd, the hero of *The Child Buyer,* is a potential genius; but he is considered by most of his teachers a questionable and dangerous deviate from the norm. He appears on the talent chart of exceptional children put together by his school's Director of Guidance, who is working for an "in-service credit in play therapy," only because he scores poorly in "followership," which leads the director to suspect that he might be that dangerous thing, a leader.

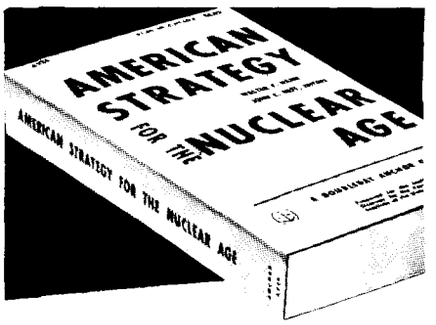
A special feature of the December 1958 issue of the *National Educational Association Journal* was concerned with "exceptional children" – "for teachers who face the challenge of teaching exceptional children in the regular classroom." Among the pamphlets listed in this issue that may be ordered from the Council for Exceptional Children of the National Education Association are "Child Therapy," "Classroom Teachers Can Help Maladjusted Children," "Teaching Driver Education to Mentally Retarded Adolescents," and one entitled "What Is Special About Special Education?" which consists of a "series of reprints from *Exceptional Children* on blind, mentally handicapped, deaf, hard-of-hearing, gifted, crippled, partially seeing, and speech-defective children." Thus, the gifted child in the public school is considered one of the truly handicapped, one who falls midway between the dumb and the lame. Some of the writers in this same journal are quick to add, however, that not every physically handicapped child is necessarily mentally gifted; in other words, doubly handicapped. Natural intelligence is handicap enough. And how in our schools is it to be dealt with?

The answer given in *The Child Buyer* is – as it is in our education journals – special classes, acceleration, enrichment. On the latter solution, Professor Walter R. Barbe of the University of Chattanooga deserves to be heard. Writing in *School and Society* for May 10, 1958, he says: "The fact that this term is so difficult to define and the lack of any agreement on what the term should really include explain the reason for the objection to enrichment programs. The regular classroom teacher is usually quite busy locating materials for the average child, and the question arises whether she will have time to locate material for the gifted child."

The question does indeed arise; and when it does, the answer given is that of Miss Millicent Parmelee Henley, State Supervisor for Exceptional Children, in *The Child Buyer.* You run into trouble, Miss Henley says, about "these extreme deviates at the upper end of the bell curve" by *"singling them out."* "The kind of thing Dr. Gozar has done in the lab work with this boy. I came right out and said this in my lecture. We talk about the defense of democracy – how undemocratic can you get? Why shouldn't the next child get the extra help – the slow learner? The extremely gifted child should not be removed from the common-learning situation. He's the last one who needs extra attention."

Anyone who thinks that this is not the reply given every day of the week should consult the *NEA Journal* on "homogeneous" and "hetergeneous grouping." Only recently, under pressure from the criticisms of Admiral Rickover and others, has Dr. Charles E. Bish, director of the NEA project on the Academically Talented Student, decided that "a school climate in which high achievement receives high respect strengthens individual pupil growth and promotes a higher level of aspiration, as well as better spiritual and moral values," a fairly obvious, if wretchedly worded, conclusion that it apparently took the project long months to reach.

The Child Buyer is a savage attack on modern education and on the ends that it serves, and hence ultimately on the morality of a society that either neglects education entirely or else in a crisis thinks of intelligence as a marketable commodity, to be literally bought up for industry and the industrial state to use for whatever insane purpose they may



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choose. In machine-made America, Mr. Hersey points out, many people seem to think that because the machine pays for education, the educated, especially the gifted who supposedly benefit most from it, must be willing to dedicate themselves to the machine, must, indeed, allow their minds to become machines. Thus the machine-mind will be able to perfect the machine so that it may in turn train more machine-minds. The justification for all this? As the Child Buyer in Mr. Hersey's novel puts it, national defense, or, under present conditions, man's "best defense" and his "greatest need" – "to leave the earth." I summarize rather baldly because I think it should be clear that Mr. Hersey is attacking not only the present deplorable state of education in this country but also the major remedies that have been proposed for it, remedies that grow out of a complete misconception of the role of intelligence in a free society.

Because education in this country has tried to make itself a science, which it cannot possibly be (Mr. Hersey is wonderful in his command of the pseudo-scientific gobbledegook of the educationists), it is corrupt, and can only be corrupted further by offering up its best intelligence, which it is unable to locate or to serve in the first place, on the altar of science. No one at the end of the committee hearings in Mr. Hersey's novel remains untouched by corruption; all are willing, for one reason or another, to sell out.

Perhaps Mr. Hersey's novel or philosophical dialogue or treatise on genius and the uses to which it is put – whatever you want to call it – is not entirely successful as a work of art. It may be impossible to satirize those who caricature themselves so readily to begin with, as most educationists do; and one thinks at once of Sybille Bedford's *The Trial of Doctor Adams* as a similar book far more skillfully constructed around a framework of fact. But all the same Mr. Hersey makes his point; and because he has been willing to meet head-on one of the most important problems of our time with such force and intelligence he deserves high praise.

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ART

The End of Ike-Onography

Checking back on one's own predictions is more properly a function of the inside front cover of this journal than it is of the back of the book. But the current show at the Whitney gives this writer the same heady feeling that TRB derives from each new set of figures on the Gross National Product. Almost two years ago this page, breathless on a peak in Pittsburgh, discovered that the New York School, Action Painting, Abstract Expressionism or *Schmeerkunst*, as it has been variously called, is nothing at all but the manifestation, in art, of the Eisenhower spirit in politics. The chief point of contact was the emphasis on sincerity to the exclusion of meaning. "A poem should not mean but be," is an ancient caution against didactic verse; it was reduced to absurdity in both the painting and the politics of the fifties. Awareness of the objective world was frowned upon and even the inner order of the work of art, painted or political, was considered an obstacle to the existential expression of the act of the artist. The house organ of the movement was and still is *Art News* and from its issues of 1953 to the latest, its prose style bears an astonishing resemblance to that of Presidential press conferences. With all these correspondences in mind, I predicted that the end of the Eisenhower era would also see the end of Ike-onography.

Young America
Whitney Museum, New York

Well, here we are coming into the closing weeks of the campaign to choose Ike's successor and here's the Whitney opening its season with "Young America," the second show of that title at the museum. Even the ground rules proclaim a subtle change. The first "Young America," in 1957, was for artists under 35. The new edition has 30 painters "under 36," a change you may find baffling but which can certainly be described as creeping maturity; it has been evident that nothing will kill Abstract Expressionism faster than maturity.

It is the aging youngsters themselves, however, who have taken up the necessary task of tyrannicide. The strongest evidence is in the paintings themselves. In terms of numbers of paintings exhibited, mystically explicated, bowed down before and actually purchased by institutions and private collectors, the dominant art of the fifties was not Abstract Expressionism, but Abstract Opportunism, a school which has yet to receive its just due in histories of the period. In a show of 117 paintings, there are less than a dozen Abstract Opportunist works at the Whitney. The show is about evenly split between paintings clearly based on the visible world and paintings more or less self-originating, with a slight edge probably going to the former. That proportion would have been unthinkable two years ago. Also unthinkable then would have been a good many of the thoughts the artists express in their catalogue statements.

In the first place, none of them begins a statement by saying that you just can't "verbalize" about painting, an obligatory disclaimer for Abstract Opportunism. Here is a random selection of what Young America says of itself: "I observe nature directly and then paint as I idealize it," "the non-objective organization of a canvas is a very sterile thing," "I try to get the expressions of people as they are sad or happy, and paint them in my own way," "My subjects are things actually seen; not things

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'envisioned'," Most of my paintings are inspired by a fragment of reality," "the things I see and love," "a high and long regard for the image of man as he appears to me, optically and psychologically." Two years ago all this was tolerated in older, established painters who couldn't be got at, but absolutely forbidden to anyone "under 36."

The articulate young back up their verbalizing with their picturizing. The show is full of honest-to-God pictures and high time, too. Moreover, a large number of them are explicitly concerned with showing something about the human situation. This does not mean, as we have been assured it has to, that art is subordinated to comment. In the best pictures of the show, a perception of the human situation seems to have been a starting point; the aspect of humanity that led to perception is painted into a picture and the process of composition, of focus and even of paint application is so pursued that it speaks, in its own language, about the original perception, revealing it, changing it, making it one with the painting. The two things co-exist, paint and idea, with neither destroying the other. In that old bugaboo, the *Saturday Evening Post* cover, the idea often did obliterate the paint, but the idea itself was usually pretty banal anyway. It didn't really improve the relationship to throw out ideas entirely. In a gratifying number of *Young America* pictures, the balance, or the fusion, is just about perfect.

James Strombotne's "The Group," for instance, assembles five angular and simplified male figures, three seated, two standing, in the kind of arrangement a commemorative photographer might strike. All are dark and even dim, but there is a suggestion of something sinister in some of the faces; all are silhouetted sharply against the white light of framed space behind them. The center figure, seated, unlike the others, has his head vividly illuminated in short strokes of violent colors. This gaudy head is as strong over the rear light as that light is over the dark figures and faces. What's it mean? Help yourself, but whatever you arrive at comes directly out of the painting fused with the image, is not a meaning "illustrated" by paint.

Morris Broderson paints dark figures that look as if sculptured, or frozen into immobility by some shock that has left no mark but paralysis. "Chicken Market" brings the fowls and the two men somehow onto a plane of equality without diminishing either. "Sound of Flowers" freezes a lumpy figure leaning over to hear the buds.

Alex Katz, in "Baigneuse," includes an erect girl in a white bathing suit against a flat infinity of blue broken by a narrow line of land far away. All the elegant space relationships in formal simplicity are there; they gain a lot from being part of a woman and the sea.

Ben Kamihira, perhaps the most accomplished painter in the show, does set pieces in a tradition that goes centuries back but has recent origins in Delvaux, Balthus and Dickinson. A boy, stripped to the waist, is posed before a "Funeral Coach" drawn by plumed horses, before a broken wall, a distant mountain and a crowd of relatives. "The Couch" is the analytic one, with nude female patient utterly spent and a rather grubby doctor making his notes. Kamihira imposes the silence of death on such scenes and subtly heightens them by slight changes of angle from the straight on one.

Kamihira is not the only Young American with suggestions of older Americans in his work. Of those already mentioned, Katz recalls Milton Avery, Broderson Ben Shahn, and Strombotne Joseph Hirsch. But in each case the recollection is not a stolen manner so much as a shared mood. We have been spoiled by the years when "originality" meant idiosyncrasy. These young painters are all original. If the feeling evoked has been evoked before that's because their work is human – and is vastly preferable to recent "originals" whose only origins are the Kem-Tone cans.

"Young America" will be at the Whitney through October; thereafter, into June, it will show at Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Columbus.

FRANK GETLEIN

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The Religious Issue

Sirs:

Win or lose in November, Senator John Kennedy has a mission, probably unconscious, not so much *for* as *to* his co-religionists.

A large, though currently shrinking, number of American Catholics have combined deep devotion to the obviously religious obligations of their faith with a social, economic, and international outlook almost entirely alien to the Church's teaching. St. Thomas Aquinas taught unequivocally, as the New Testament had done before him, that no one has a right to superfluities in the face of his neighbor's need; Pius IX condemned nothing more vigorously than Manchester economics; the Church has opposed exaggerated nationalism at every turn from its medieval origins to John XXIII. Yet some American Catholics worry about our minimal social security laws as "socialism," occasionally denounce the income tax as interference with sacred property rights, and oppose foreign aid on the off chance that some of it may find its way to a Communist. For many years intellectual leaders have recognized these inconsistencies, and organizations like the Catholic Association for International Peace have worked hard to eliminate them.

Obviously patriotism and an acceptance of legitimate political authority are valid Catholic ideals, but the ultranationalism that expresses itself in opposition to international cooperation of any type, including the UN, contradicts Catholic teaching. Often strong objections to immigration, in no way inhib-

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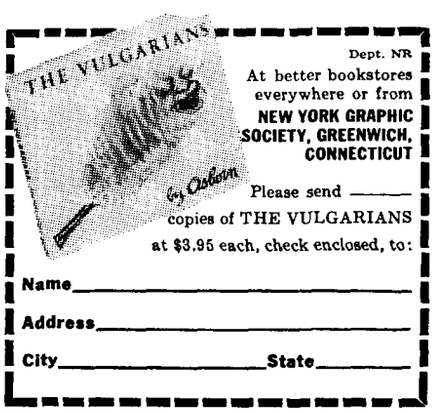

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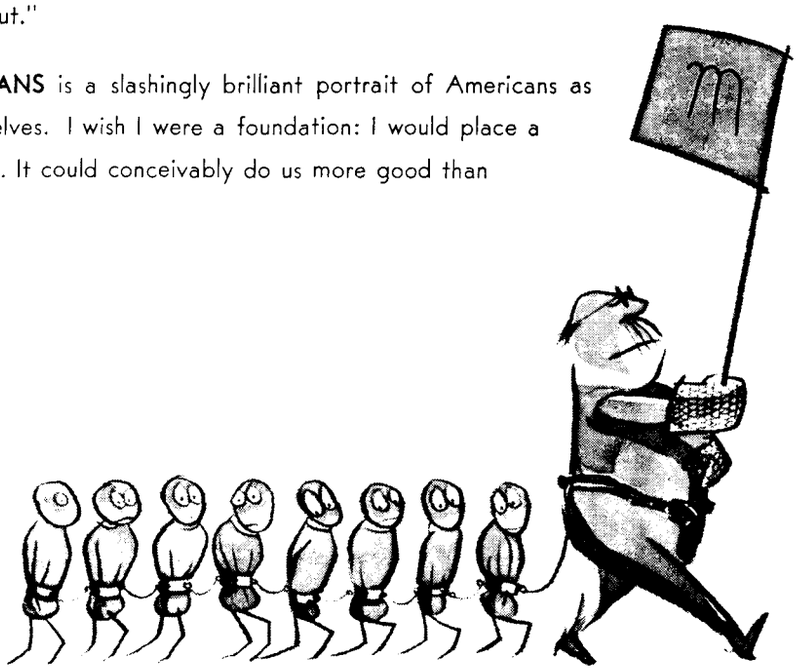

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ited by memories of the group's own immigrant origins, as well as a deep distrust of other minorities, form part of the pattern. Despite five hundred years of Church doctrine and policy, this type of American Catholic displays an extreme fear of state action in the economic realm.

In two respects – racial attitudes and social justice – the Catholic Church in the United States has itself helped to modify this outlook. The concerted effort led by Father John LaFarge in the 1930's to show American Catholics the incompatibility between genuine Catholicity and racial discrimination has enjoyed notable success and augurs well for the future. The movement for social justice began earlier, actually preceding the famous encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI. James Cardinal Gibbons' letter in defense of the Knights of Labor is its classic, and Monsignor John A. Ryan is the scholar who provided its rationale.

What is the relevance of all this to the candidacy of John F. Kennedy? In any monolithic, hierarchically directed sense, no "Catholic vote" exists, if only because so few genuine religious issues arise in the public forum. Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, a deeply committed Catholic, felt no obligation to support fellow-Catholic Kennedy at the Democratic convention. Whatever "Catholic vote" appears in the year 1960 will actually represent nothing more than the natural pride of a minority that has only recently acquired status in American life. Many Catholics will support Kennedy because of this pride. But the Senator holds none of those isolationist, ultra-conservative positions that have complicated the political past. His father did, and perhaps still does, hold them; but little in the record indicates that the outlook proved hereditary.

The stage is definitely set for such a mission. The increased proportion of educated Catholics, the growing vitality of Catholic intellectual life – reflected in an orgy of self-criticism – the translation of recent continental Catholic writings that show a deep comprehension of the 20th Century – many factors have begun to build a new and more viable synthesis. John Kennedy, even without consciously trying, may make it popular. If he does, many liberal causes will enjoy greatly increased strength – civil rights, a reasonable measure of economic democracy, internationalism, and the kind of personal liberty that McCarthyism imperiled.

Sister Joan Bland, S.N.D.
Trinity College
Washington, D. C.

Sirs:

I hope that this letter is but one small splash of a wave of correspondence from Protestants who want to make clear their complete separation from the Norman Vincent Peale anti-Roman Catholic position.

Your editorial, "Protestants in Politics," (September 19), is well formulated. You have correctly concluded that the Washington meeting represented "more of a ripple than a tide." You are also correct in assuming that the sponsors of the Washington statement represent the theologically extreme right and often fundamentalist group in Protestantism as well as right-wing Republicans. You have chosen well in quoting Dr. John C. Bennett as one of best informed and most representative spokesmen of American Protestantism.

It cannot be denied that there are complicating factors within the Roman Catholic Church with relation to responsibilities to the state, just as there are in other faiths, but these should not be used to prejudge a candidate who may have his own independent positions. It is also important to remember that there is a growing body of thought within the Catholic Church in support of the liberal and democratic point of view.

G. Shubert Frye
United Presbyterian Church in the USA
Synod of New York

Sirs:

"The great struggle today is between those who believe in no God and those who believe in God." This kind of thing has been said many times by Eisenhower, but the present quotation is from your candidate John Kennedy. Several questions arise. For instance: Whom can atheists and agnostics vote for? Then again, it is interesting to reflect that there are people who "believe in no God" – so it would appear – on

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Mr. Kennedy's own team. Are we to understand that the great struggle of today is between some of Kennedy's supporters and some others?

Eric Bentley
Boston, Mass.

Art and Mass-Guilt

Sirs:

Mr. Kauffmann in his review of the German film, *The Rest Is Silence* (September 19), seems both to have based his criticism in part on criteria which are not normally associated with the judgment of artistic productions, and also, even if we are to accept such criteria, to have misinterpreted the theme of the film. His implicit premise is that postwar German films dealing with the events of recent German history should be underscored with the theme of collective guilt for the crimes of Nazism and should manifest a clearly recognizable anti-Nazi view. German collective guilt undoubtedly is and will remain the judgment of history, an opinion incidentally shared by about the same minority of thinking and self-critical people in Germany as are present in any society. But is it relevant to judge this film as suffering from an "ultimate weakness" which Mr. Kauffmann indicates is lack of a clear cut anti-Nazi statement? Must art or entertainment always be a vehicle of education and enlightenment (a view held by the Nazis themselves); or is this not a questionable thesis, even when applied in such an obviously worthy cause? It is hardly surprising that German movie producers and directors are hesitant in dwelling on their or their country's iniquities, however heinous in the opinion of the outside world or their own consciences.

James G. McDowell
Washington, D. C.

Strout's School Scandal

Sirs:

In "The Big School Scandal" by Richard L. Strout (September 19), a number of facts such as the following were conveniently overlooked. In the ten years from 1950 to 1960 local and state revenues for school use were increased by well over 120 percent, compared with a corresponding increase in student enrollment of less than 40 percent. Over half a million class rooms have been constructed in the US without federal aid since the end of World War II. This local progress has provided space for over 15 million pupils.

In the light of such facts, it seems rather difficult to conclude logically that we have not been able to support education through local efforts and thus must support it through national efforts. Also, it's difficult to see why we should believe that our money would have any greater effect if the Federal Government spent it; it is quite possible that it could have less effect. That Russia is spending twice the percentage of its gross national product for education than we are does not seem too meaningful when the Russian gross national product is but a fraction of ours.

There is little doubt that the author is sincere in his concern for the quality of US education. However, it would seem that a logical evaluation of our educational "problem" would bring one to conclude that more materialism, this time on a federal basis, is not the panacea for the mass mediocrity which may be putting us at a disadvantage in a world where the best is none too good – I might suggest that we spend less time looking for federal "salvation" and support our local school programs; interest and intelligent participation can do infinitely more than anything else to improve our educational system.

William S. Wood
Santa Ana, Calif.

The Status of the Soviets

Sirs:

Charles Burton Marshall ("Foreign Policy and the Election," September 19) refers to articles by me in this journal in which (he says) I counseled "us to regard the Soviet Union as a *status quo* power, satisfied with its lot, disposed to forget its expansive ambitions . . .", etc.

I assume that what he has in mind is my statement that, in its secular evolution, the Soviet Union is on its way to becoming a *status quo* power. Because I know of no one who has a keener appreciation of the meaning of words, I take it that his misreport of my statement represents either polemical license or a slip of the pen.

Louis J. Halle
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